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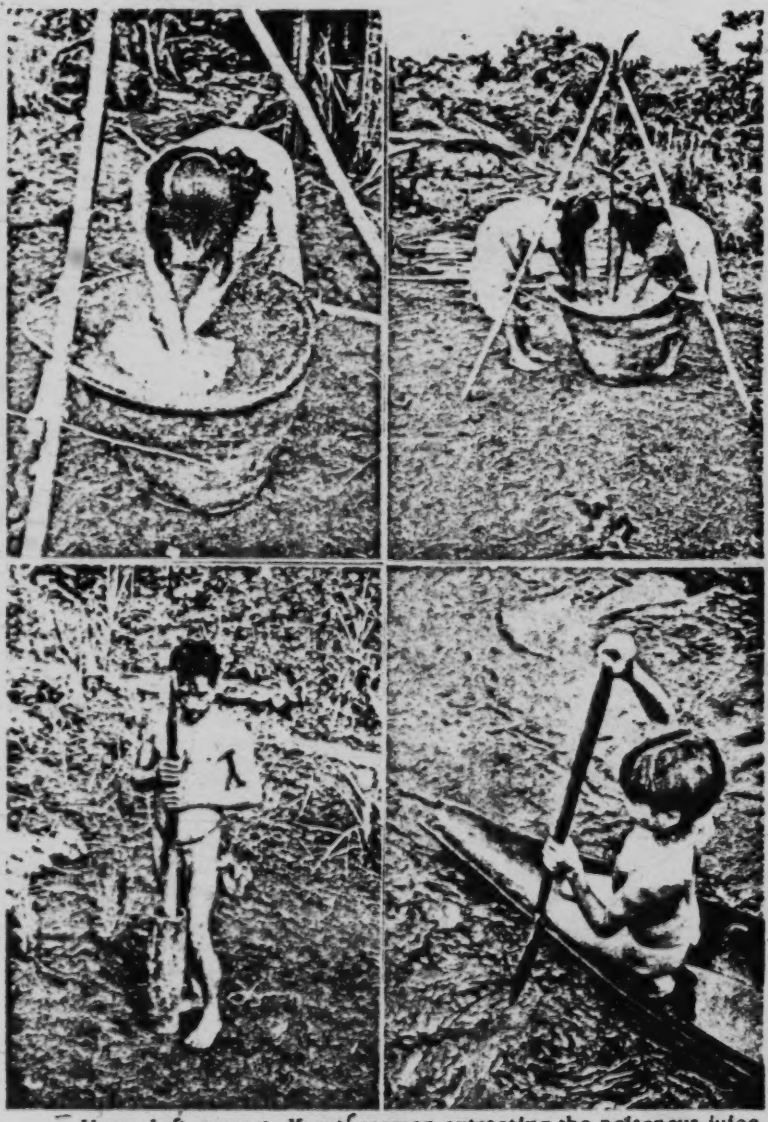

142
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→

Upper left corner: Yurutí woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yurutí women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

241
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412
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• 142
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[415]
→

Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--52 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

252
291
516
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142
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Upper part: Yurutí woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Sirîano man weaving balaya (basket).
(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

142
291
302

Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

142
304
854

Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

4: Silva--45 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

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142
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291

/Illustrations facing p. 32 in the original source/

Tukano type (painted for the dances) (settlement of Iua-pixuna, Papuri River)

Woman of the Aõnira or Ídе-masã tribe

142
302
M
142
302
881

Girls of the Makú tribe (the younger one had her hair cut in the initiation rite)

/47 cont./

*101 (17) -- TATÚ. -- The Tatú-tapuya Indians whom Wallace mentions on the river Cuduiari must be the Adyá-mene of the Arwáke group, about which Curt Nimuendajú tells us, or the Ádza-nene, whose vocabulary we gathered and recorded (cf. our works, "Discoteca Etnolinguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). It must be noticed, however, that Curt found groups of them in S. Rosa, on the river Guainía; and Frei Gregório, on his maps, records the presence of Tatupiá Indians in several places along the river Içana, where, as a matter of fact, the Adzanénei still live today.

One must not confuse with these the Tatú or Páboamahã Indians, as they call themselves (or Pamõã-maxsã, armadillo-people, as the Tukano call them), who belong to the Tukano group of languages, as can be seen by the vocabulary collected by us (cf. the two works mentioned above, "Discoteca" and "Idiomas"). Their principal nucleus is located between the Jaré and the Cananarí (tributaries of the Pirá-paraná). [142] They are of average stature, more delicate features, complexion and eyes lighter than on the Tukano (cf. below, IV -- 2, o /p. 150/).

/48/ (18) -- TIJUCÓ. -- It is the Tuyuka tribe of the headwaters of the Tiquié (cf. below IV -- 2, d /p. 132/).

(19) -- UACARÁ. -- Wallace also mentions on the Papurí, besides the Tukano, Pirá-tapúya, and the Desana, who in fact are found there, the Uacará tribe, or índios garças /Heron Indians/. At present, neither on the Papurí, on its tributaries, nor in the surrounding forest, on one or the other bank, does any tribe exist under the denomination of Uacará. On the fluvial trunk known as Papurí there are at present only natives of the Tukano, Desãna, and Pirá-tapúya tribes. In the interior of the forest on the right bank there is a Karapanã group, located on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, and some groups of Makú on both banks. As to the sources of the Papuri, on the river

/70 cont./

144 /footnote 2 cont./ Floresta on the left bank of the Tiquié. In reality the boy and the youth, between themselves, are baxsúkãra, that is, cousins designated for preferential marriage. Actually, the boy, son of a Tukano father, had as mother a Desana from the povoado of Piracema, and aunt of the youth, our oarsman.

• 142 144 Nevertheless, documenting diverse ethnic origins, with a surprising resistance to the leveling biological factors, one notices /71/ types quite distinct somatically (3).

3. We have found, within the same tribe, but belonging to different subtribes, quite distinct somatic types. For example, the Tukano of Iuquíra (Ihurwá subdivision) exhibit a noticeable difference from other Tukano subdivisions: they are fairer, with a higher and straighter forehead, more delicate features. Likewise the Pirá-tapuya of the povoado S. Paulo on the river Papurí, the Desana of Piracema on the Umarí exhibit characteristic physiognomic features that distinguish them from other groups of the same tribe.

It even seems to us that five or six somatic types or normo-types, with their peculiar features, can be distinguished on the Uaupés. We shall try to sketch the features of some of these somatic types, which, lacking other criteria, and because it is simpler, we shall name according to the tribe where we found the greatest number of individuals with such lineaments.

1) Tukano type.

142 Bronze-colored skin. The children are more reddish, approaching copper. After physical exercise (running, working) they become notably copper-colored.

/71 cont./

In all the cases of newborn children that we were able to observe, we found the characteristic Mongolian spot, purplish, oval, measuring approximately one centimeter in diameter or a little more and always in the gluteal region. The Tukano Antônio Barreto, Dorotéia Brito, and others informed us that this spot is called Wãx-tĩ-õtá and is absolutely general. Although it ordinarily disappears after two or three months, it may, however, last one year or longer. The denomination Wãx-tĩ-õtá, feces of Wãx-tĩ, results, according to the legend, from the fact that the first newborn child was supposed to have been laid on a place where there were feces of Wãx-tĩ (cf. VII-4, d (5)), which soiled him.

[115] [192]

• 142

Roundish face, at times widening toward the cheeks, as a gastronomic type; or even narrowing into a double triangle toward the forehead. This is receding and, in all cases, in the shape of a trapezium, with the smaller base upward, and frequently sloping laterally toward the temples. The zygoma is quite pronounced.

Eyebrows not very thick, small, straight, or light and elegantly arched, separated by a bare space of about three centimeters (the base of the nose). Short and not very thick eyelashes. Small eyes, Mongoloid, with slanted eyelids. Black or very dark iris and whitish, or with some frequency yellowish, conjunctiva.

Short nose, low, ordinarily concave, forming a regular arch. Wide base (between the eyebrows); sometimes it narrows, deepens, and becomes thinner in the nasion, like a small triangle, soon to widen up to the point, which is usually very /72/ flat. Large nostrils, round, very visible, because frequently the point is turned up. In almost all cases it ends in a roundish protuberance.

304 /72 cont./

[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears. [115] [192] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wãx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision of the Jews. [115] [553] These provisional conclusions were confirmed in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4)), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

/72 cont./

• 142 144 [164] Wide mouth, thick lips, frequent prognathism, although slight, ugly dentition, with yellow teeth, many cavities and defects. Few individuals over 20 years old had all their teeth. Not rarely canines and incisors were malposed or maloccluded.

Rounded chin, small, at times almost imperceptible, and frequently ending in a small and elegant point.

Neither mustache nor beard (4).

4. Men with a discreet mustache and even with a small beard on the chin are found with considerable frequency among the Ihwãna, Roéra, and Íde-masã tribes, the Arwáke of the Içana, and the tribes of the Caburí.

*[192] A few individuals of the male sex exhibit some sparse mustache or beard hairs and /73/ try to eliminate them by depilation (poá-ri kuré:) with the fingers. It is the usual process for pulling out the hair of the arms, legs, and other parts of the body, on oneself or on others (5).

5. Wallace also reports: "The men have very little beard, and even this little they pull out, plucking out the hairs. Men and women, all pull out the eyebrows (which is not true today, it seems, or it would be more rare) and the hair of the armpits and of the genital parts" (op. cit., 617).

*[192] We have seen, for the axillae, that they use the following depilatory process: a ball of breu /a kind of resin/ or of the resin called sí-pé, which is pressed together and rubbed on the axillae until it holds and pulls out the hairs. To appear smooth is a quality of elegance, according to their aesthetic tastes.

/73 cont./

142 144 Black hair, or more commonly dark brown, almost black, straight, shiny, coarse and thick; many times, though, burned by the sun (6).

6. Among the Makú, Íde-masã, Roéra-masã, Yebá-masã, Hanẽrã, Edúrya, and Ba:re-masã, cymotrichous types are common. We could see and photograph some women who exhibited black hair that was fine and cacheados /curled in ringlets/.

178 302 The ones who have attended school wear it in a regular length, combed, and parted on the left side; the others have it cut with scissors with a short fringe on the forehead, behind the ears, and on the neck. Up to a century ago they used to let it grow in long braids (7),

7. A. Russell Wallace wrote in 1850: "The men do not cut the hair, they let it hang in front in a long braid, tying it around with cords, or they let it fall in the middle of the back, often as far as the thighs. The hair of the women falls loosely over the shoulders and is cut with a moderate length" (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 616).

which might reach as far as the thigh. The women, instead, trimmed it a little, perhaps in order not to be inconvenienced in their work. Today the women have it a little below the shoulders, more or less fastened with a ribbon or pin. One sees some children with the hair quite shorn, but growing in breadth, as if it were a lion's mane (8).

8. Hair cut this way, "like a lion's mane," although with a wider zone, that is, about 5 or 6 centimeters, has been seen, likewise, in caboclo children of the Rio Negro. Perhaps the natives have imitated these examples.

/73 cont./

142 144 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however, complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40 [145] [262] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance. * [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however, [481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

/74 cont./

142
144

Arms and legs well formed (9).

9. "The Tucano type presents quite a good appearance. Of regular stature, light bronze color, round head and eyes (?), hair generally black and short; he has a conjunction of such handsome proportions that, in perfect immobility, he could be taken as an artistic statue of bronze." Mons. Lourenço Giordano (Boletim Salesiano, February of 1918, p. 31).

The former notably developed through the exercise of rowing, which gives them a span of arms always greater than the height, up to 10 or even 15 centimeters.

Muscular chest in the men. Hemispherical and voluminous breasts in the maidens, also constituting an element of elegance for the young women. Sagging like the udder of a nanny goat in the women beyond a certain age. This due to the fact that they are always bending and swinging when they work (10).

[145]
[481]

*[192]

10. Slender and long breasts are likewise objects of derision. They nickname such women "mother of the Curupira, Boraró-paxkó." We have seen women with breasts so long that, passed under the arms, they are sucked by the children placed behind them on the back.

/75/ Small hands, regular fingers. Feet, on the contrary, large; the tip of the toes is wide, as in a fan, due to the way of walking. Digits with a narrow base and flattened top, with a wide space between them, especially between the great one /Port. polegar, thumb or great toe/ and the next one; a fact that allows them notable prehension (securing and raising objects with the feet, or even guiding the wheel of a launch and rowing).

/76 cont./

732 /footnote 14 cont./ due to weakness of the organs, were not able to walk until five years of age, after long treatment. Among the cases of pronounced hebetude, we recall two adults of the male sex, one from the Huhúdëne tribe in Uapuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí), and the other a Taryana of Iauareté, known as Marcelino, "Contented," because he laughs at anything.

481 Completing this profile, it should be noted that they are slow of movement, at times clumsy in their way of walking. They walk with a short step (15),

15. In the military formations of the children, at one of the schools of the Salesian Missions, we could verify the tendency to accelerate the march.

like small jumps; many drag slightly and set the tip of the toes apart laterally, and the heel barely touches the ground.

516 They do not remain on their feet very long, almost always leaning more on one foot (the left one) and just on the tip of the other one. The woman withstands being on her feet less than the man. The most common and lasting position, when still, is the squat; it is the normal position for eating, even when they could do it sitting down. When they sit, they prefer low seats or the ground, and then they never cross the legs.

Let us now note some features that vary in this profile that we have sketched.

2) Pirá-tapuya type.

142 144 Skin lighter than in the Tukano, and face slightly or markedly elongated. Zygoma less prominent. Lissotrichous hair, lighter brown.

/76 cont./

142
144

Brown eyes; sometimes quite light, mainly in the children. High nose, but somewhat flat at the tip and large. Regular mouth, better formed set of teeth, small chin, rounded in the natural curve of the face; thick lips. The physiognomic features, however, are less attractive than in the Tukano.

A taller type than the Tukano, and also less plump of body.

3) Taryana type.

Lighter in color than the Tukano, he likewise has a more elongated face, but with more prominent cheekbones.

/77/ The nose is high, straight, with nevertheless a very wide point and big nostrils. Square forehead, less curved laterally, straighter and wider than in the Tukano. Wide mouth, a chin quite large and sometimes quite pointed.

Less plump body and average stature like the Tukano.

4) Makú type.

Lighter skin, of an earth-colored paleness. There are almost always cymotrichous types, with dark, thick, and sometimes fine hair.

Small forehead, receding, zygoma less noticeable. High and thin nose. More open eyes, almost Caucasian. There are types with more delicate and attractive features than those of the other tribes, although one does find groups with an appearance that retraces greater degradation.

Body slenderer and shorter. He is more similar to the whites than those of the other nations.

5) General observations.

The Desana are smaller, lighter than the Tukano, and of more delicate features, and therefore in general more attractive in appearance. And among these various tribes, the Yuritĺ,

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.

171 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

*192 The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá [317] (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found [323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent [501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba, [142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Jahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

[161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

/91 cont./

*101 e) EDÚRYA OR ERÚLYA

1) People-Name-Language -- This tribe, in their own idiom, is called Edúrya, whereas the Tuyuka call them Erúlya. They are also affiliated by language to the Tukano group (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia").

[142] They are of average stature, a little taller than the Tukano. Light coppery skin, coarse, black, cymotrichous hair, a wide, square forehead, black eyes, delicate chin, high nose sometimes slightly acquiline, ovoid face, and thin lips.

They are connected by matrimonial ties with the Barâ and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Their habitat is several and small tributaries of the Pirá-paraná, in territory completely Colombian. It was not possible to find out the number of inhabitants of the tribe; it seems, however, that it is even smaller than the Hanêra tribe.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions -- They are the following, indicated by a young man about 20 years old (in March of 1954), Tunú by name, in Mosî-bhoâ (maloca of the urucum, headwaters of the Tiquié):

1. Kavyayána (master of dancing?), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya (31)

31. Should it perhaps be identified with the Kavírya tribe of the forests of the Cananarí?

2. Ehéburu (a straw), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya
3. Gîbûxkôrô (Komû, "blower," VII -- 2, (3)), on the igarapé Semé-ria
4. Ixkó-masî (a snake), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya
5. Wextáyoa (?), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya

/92 cont./ *101

1. Saĩrõã-masã (water people? gossiping people?)
2. Yebá-masã
3. Roeá-masã (taraíra /a fish/ people)

/In the original text, the last two lines of p. 91 are repeated here, which is apparently a misprint and is omitted in the translation./

g) HANÊRA OR PANENÕÁ.

1) People-Name-Language. -- A type taller and slighter than the Tukano. A redder complexion, long face, delicate chin, high nose, wide forehead. [142]

Their idiom, which must be affiliated with the Tukano linguistic family (cf. Vocabulary, in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), presents this peculiarity: an initial aspirate (h, as we represent it in this work) appears in words in which the Tukano pronounces a p; for example: father, hakõ (Tukano pax-kõ), mother, hakó (Tukano, pax-kó), etc. This characteristic of their idiom explains to us the correspondence of their name in their own language, Hanêra, and in the Tukano, Panenõá, or Parêroá.

/93/ We know that they are connected by marriage with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We have only seen a few individuals in passing by the maloca called Mosã-bhoá (mountain of the urucú) of the Bará, on the igarapé Uaracú-pirêra, and in their maloca close to the mouth of the Timí-ya. They were unable to give us any information about the approximate number of individuals in their tribe. It seems that they do not exceed four hundred. At present they reside only in Colombian territory, on various igarapés on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná. [161]

The informants of the eighteenth century testify that it was from the Panenõá that the Taryana obtained by barter their ornaments of gold and silver (cf. II -- 3) and momõrõ Khwirí (VII -- 3, d). [301] [439]

/95 cont./

i) IHWANA OR YONA

*101 1) People-Name-Language. -- We were unable to find out for certain the meaning of the name Ihwana or Yona; it might be the name of a fish. The language is of the Tukano family, as is seen from the Vocabulary that we collected in the Wextá maloca on the Pirá-paraná near the mouth of the Komé-ya.

[142] [30] The individuals of the maloca were slighter and had more delicate features than the Tukano. All the men had pierced their ear lobes, keeping them open with a bunch of bird feathers. A cord binding the arms a little below the shoulders, and red paint across the face, indications perhaps of some feast a short [142] time before. Dark hair, cymotrichous, with slight waviness, and eyes lighter than those of the Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They reside in malocas along the Pirá-paraná and its small tributaries nearby, and below the cachoeira of the Beijú, where at low water one can see a beautiful design that resembles a Chinese dragon. Because of a lack of interpreters, we were unable to find out the number [161] of members of the tribe or /96/ its subdivisions. From the information obtained, we think it might be concluded that there are still several hundreds.

j) KÕ'NEÁ OR ARAPÁSU

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Kõ'neá (in Tukano Kõ-rẽá), the name of a variety of woodpecker called arapásu in Nheengatú.

[173] According to reminiscences of an ancient tradition, it was a very numerous and brave tribe. When individuals of other tribes passed the river Uaupés in the zone dominated by the Arapásu, the latter surrounded them, took away all their products, and afterwards sank their canoes, allowing them, however, to escape. The victims would avenge themselves "blowing" [161] (that is, casting an evil spell; cf. VII -- 2, e (l)) on the Arapásu, who, little by little, became extinct.

/96 cont./

*101 They also lost their own idiom, everyone today speaking the Tukano language.

[582] Koch G. includes the Arapásu as a Tukano division. It seems to us incorrect, because even marriage is allowed between
• [142] members of these two tribes. Physically the Arapásu are easily distinguished from the Tukano, because they are lighter, taller, and more slender. High nose, sometimes a bit aquiline, less prominent zygoma, and elongated face.

They consider themselves, instead, brothers of the Pirá-tapúya, because of which a matrimonial interdiction is in force between Arapásu and Pirá-tapúya, and also with the Baré, the Desãna, Miritĩ, and Kumãdẽne.

*[192] Their idiom does seem to be affiliated with the Tukano family of languages (32).

32. Their affiliation with the Tukano Family of languages can be verified only by the small number of words that some Arapásu natives were able to tell us:

tapioca, kávetarĩ	father, máĩ	paternal uncle, mõãmõ
fan, misõna	mother, Yõ or ihyõ	paternal aunt, mõãmã̃
chest, kutiró	son, maxkã̃	maternal uncle, kabõ̃
people, maxsã̃	daughter, maxkõ̃	maternal aunt, kabõ̃, kabú
snake, pinó	younger brother, peñã̃	maternal fem. cousin, kabõ̃ maxkã̃
fishhook, sináke	younger sister, peñõ̃	maternal male cousin, kabõ̃ maxkõ̃
fire, pe'kã̃me		nephew, peñanã̃
		niece, peñanõ̃

go to blow the fire, pe'kã̃me apusumaré

/97 cont./

*101 1st. -- Axpĩ soxpé põná (children from the ponta do caranguejo /point of the crab/), in Caranguejo (Uaupés)

2nd. -- Wĩhó fiõá põná (children from the ponta do vento /point of the wind/), in S. José (Uaupés)

3rd. -- Kumã-kõ fiõá põñá (children from the ponta do louro /a kind of wood/), in Louro, (Uaupés)

4th. -- Dyá poxsá yõhõró põná (children from the strait of the Uaupés), in Paraná-jucá (Uaupés)

k) KÓTIRYA OR WANÃNA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Wanãna is a Nheengatú word and indicates an aquatic bird, chenálopex jubátus, commonly known as marrecão. The Wanãna call themselves Kótirya, Kótidya or Kótirwa (sing., masc. Kótirwa-kiro; fem. Kótirwa-koro). They are called by the Tukano Oxkó-tí-khãra, which means "people who have medicine" or "pajé people," from ox-kó, medicine. Although the Tukano expression authorizes a similar translation, an interpretation more in accordance with the legends of the origins would be oxkó, water (and not ox-kó), that is, "people who are on the water or came from the water." The Tuyuka call the Wanana simply "people from the river Uaupés, Dyá- /98/ Poxsá-maxkã." Thus one does not perceive any relation between the names in the Nheengatú and Tukano languages (34).

> 34. We read in "Indios do Brasil /Indians of Brazil/" by Major Lima Figueiredo -- Brasiliana, No. 163 -- S. Paulo, 1939, p. 146): "the word Wanana, in the Aruack /Arawak/ idiom, means thief."

We have already noted that the Relatório of Frei Gregório mentions Ananá instead of Wanãna.

• [142] They are taller in stature than the Tukano, and their language is of the Tukano family, although closer to the Pirá-tapuya idiom, as we can see in the vocabulary.

/101 cont./

m) NEENOÁ OR MIRITÍ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- Neenoá in the native idiom is the name of the tribe known as Miritĺ-tapuya (name derived from a palm tree, the Maurítia flexuosa) or Myaritĺ-tapuya (36),

36. Artur Ramos (o. c. I, 172) uses Matatĺ-tapuya as another name for the Miriti. Would it be a printing error for Matapi-tapuya (matapi, fish enclosure, VI-5, a (2))? It seems to us there is an incorrect identification in this hypothesis. According to Koch G., Matapi-tapuya is a subtribe of the Yukuna living in Uacaiacá, tributary of the left bank of the Miritĺ-paraná (Festschrift, 205, and Z. I. 394 and 398).

• [142] that is, buriti people. They are small like the Tukano, but lighter, more slender, and have a more delicate physiognomy.

Matrimonial interdiction with the Taryana, Arapasu, Kumãdene, Pirá-tapuya, Tuyuka, and Desana is in force.

All of them at present speak the Tukano language, and the old ones themselves cannot remember but half a dozen words.

*[192] They affirm, however, that the language was very similar to that of the Arapasu, and the few words that we obtained justify the affiliation to the Tukano family of languages (37).

37. father, kõ-kã̄ grandfather, kõ-Ro paternal uncle, mõã̄ma
mother, yõ daughter, maxkõga paternal aunt, mõã̄mo
son, maxkõga soap (?), sã̄ fire, maryé tukáro

/102 cont./

* 101 The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender
• [142] than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

[582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõá-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõá-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the
[721] region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of
[648] the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20
[266] years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

/108/

*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloísa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloísa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old

[142] and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous

[301] [304] hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

[582] Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gó-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõã and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/111/

*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115]

41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

• [142]

[244]
[222]
[224]
[284]

With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, i (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe. [142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation [284] [184] of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2)).

[582] [142] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for them (48).

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to [191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced: besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese. [438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/117 cont./

*101 [115] [554] Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956), confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifications: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision Waxsúpo põná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he divided up the 24th, respectively, aganĩgãnĩ põna, yai buxtiná, and Poyaxtẽna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMÃDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumãdene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-põrá (children of the water duck). The Taryãna call them Kumãda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryãna, and, because of this marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumãda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryãna. [142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. [115] In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamã /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Cuiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

[171] [304]

34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./

• 142
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756

Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

• 142
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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

142
291
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516
796

Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

*192
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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

*192
531
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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiarí region where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiarí Indians is good. Carate (*puru*), a skin pigment disorder apparently of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiarí. Children suffered from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918 influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiarí, where native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiarí itself, the people at the mouth of the river, the higher ranking *Hehénewa* subs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiarí. He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability is considerable on the Cuduiarí, ranging from marked mesomorphy to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

142 oped: heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians customarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

[484] [261] [157]

114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiarí among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiarí to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes.

114 127

114 His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

244 433 [462] A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They 244 242 [571] are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When women from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* [439] cultivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for [252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake 244 462 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

142 252 102 291 516

Fig. 5. Preparing manioc.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

Fig. 6. Old *Bahúkiwa* couple.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

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Fig. 8 *Bahúkiwa* mother and child.

/p. 50-B/

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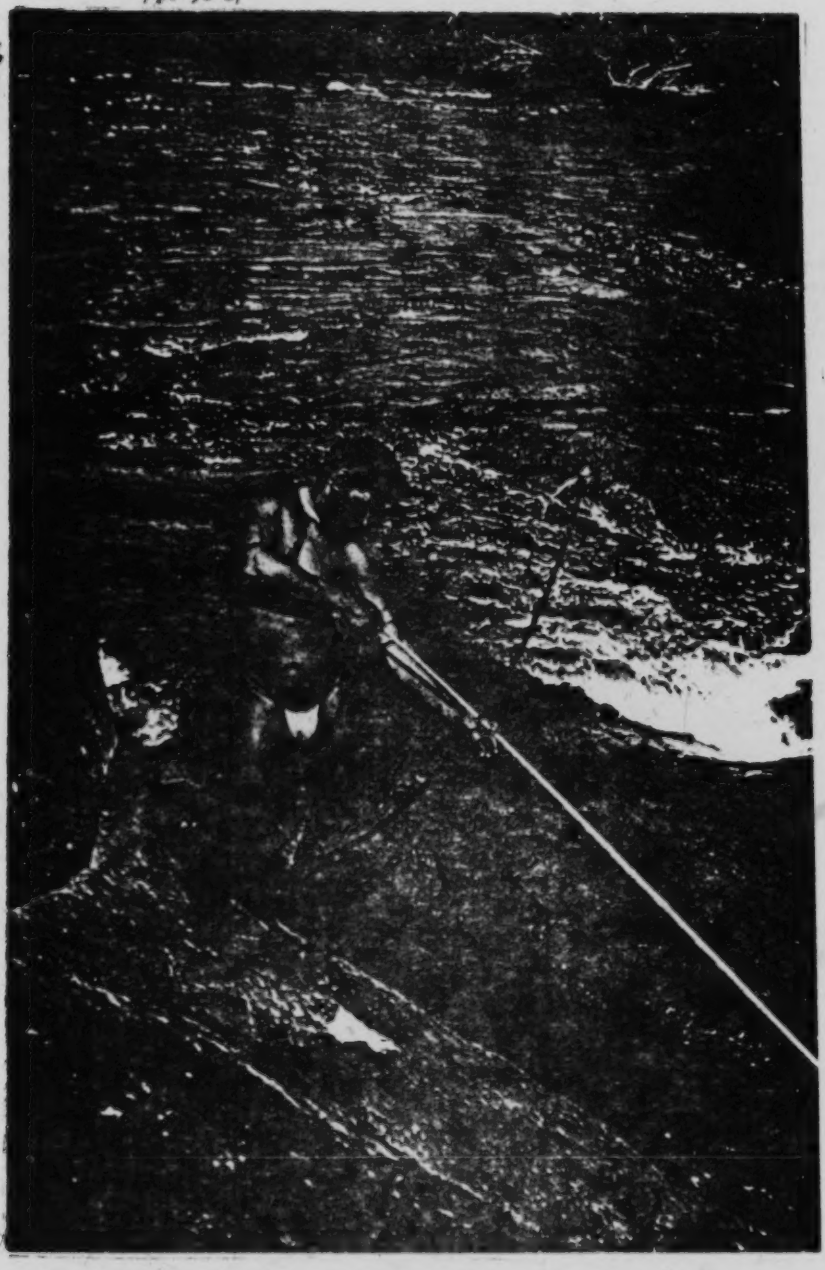

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

/p. 78-B/

301
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Tukano profile and festival head-dress.

/p. 82-A/

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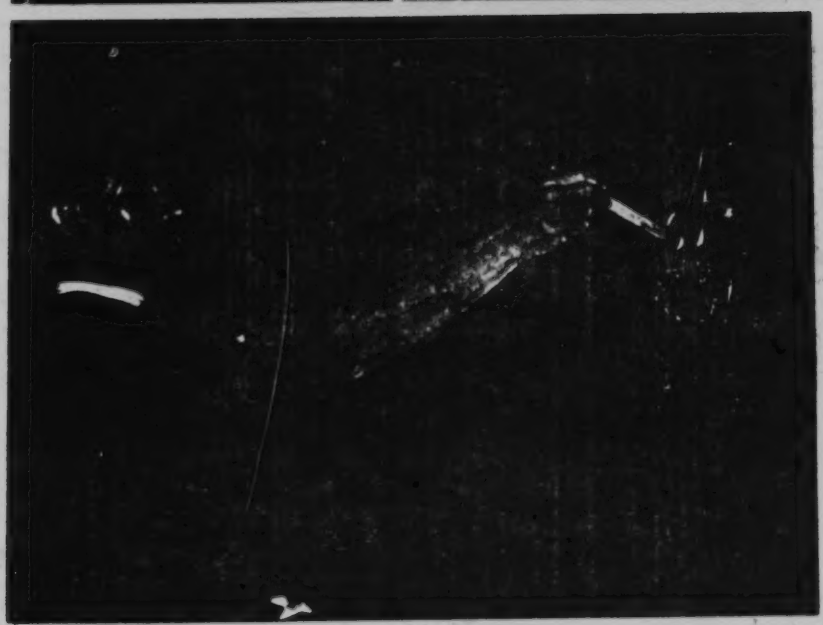

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.